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Fall 9-1-2021

### PSCI 311.01: Revolution and Reform in Modern China

Dexter Tiff Roberts

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#### Recommended Citation

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## Political Science 311: Revolution & Reform in Modern China

Dexter Tiff Roberts, Fall 2021

Office 352 LA building, phone 243-6181; email: [dexter1.roberts@umontana.edu](mailto:dexter1.roberts@umontana.edu)

This class will be taught every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, 10 am to 10:50 am, in Jeannette Rankin Hall, room 204, from Aug. 30 through Dec. 10

Office Hours: Appointments can be requested via email and will be scheduled at our mutual convenience.

\*Syllabus will be adjusted and supplemented during the term/always refer to the Moodle for most up-to-date class and reading schedule\*

\*Covid is with us and health precautions will play a part in this class\*

\*Depending on the course of the pandemic, this course could shift to an online or hybrid model\*

Please read below carefully as these are university-wide requirements and must be followed:

- Mask use is required within the classroom or laboratory.
- If you feel sick and/or are exhibiting COVID-19 symptoms, please don't come to class and contact the Curry Health Center at (406) 243-4330.
- If you are required to isolate or quarantine, you will receive support in the class to ensure continued academic progress.
- UM recommends students get the COVID-19 vaccine. Please direct your questions or concerns about vaccines to Curry Health Center.
- Where social distancing (maintaining consistent 6 feet between individuals) is not possible, specific seating arrangements will be used to support contact tracing efforts.
- Class attendance and seating will be recorded to support contact tracing efforts.
- Drinking liquids and eating food is discouraged within the classroom.

### Revolution & Reform in Modern China

This course will use a reading and discussion format, supplemented by videos and guest lectures by experts, to examine the revolutions and the reforms of the modern China era. We will look at key individuals, both famous and not, important historical moments, as well as reforms carried out and unfinished, and examine what role they have played in shaping modern China. The questions all of us should be asking as we move through the course are: **What are the revolutions we are learning about and why have they happened? What are the reforms and why do they matter? Who are the people and leaders involved? Why do these revolutions and reforms matter for the Chinese people today and why are they important for the world?**

This course will emphasize classroom participation and try to encourage all of us to consider why a reforming China and its people matter for all of us today, while helping each of you identify what aspects of China and its recent history you find most important, interesting, and relevant to your own lives. I would like all of you consider how modern China will affect your future lives and how you might continue to engage with China long after we finish this term and after you graduate from the University of Montana.

Starting with the Chinese Communist Party-led revolution in 1949, this course will look at the Mao Zedong era and how its policies and political upheavals affected rural and urban China, while also looking at how that era still impacts on Chinese peoples' lives in the present. Then we will focus intensively on the era of Reform and Opening, the epochal policy launched in 1978 by Deng Xiaoping, asking what that has meant for the Chinese economy and people and what rural and urban reforms are still left unfinished. And finally we will look at the modern era, focusing on the nature of the ambitions of the present leader Xi Jinping and what those mean for China and the world.

Our study of revolutions and reforms and how they shape modern China will focus in on key tensions between the Party and the people, including how controls over migration and civil society, social imbalances, and economic inequality, are leading to protest and pushback. We will also examine how unfinished reforms are holding back China's continued economic rise. We will end by assessing the Chinese leadership's plans for global expansion and the reactions positive and negative from countries around the world, U.S.-China frayed relations in the era of the Trade and Tech Wars and Covid-19, and the continued viability of the Chinese economy and Communist Party rule.

\*\*\*This course will help you understand:

- How revolution came to China and how that has affected its development until today
- Who Mao Zedong was and what are some of the reasons for the rise of Maoism
- The nature of Maoist rule for urban and rural Chinese and why it differed
- The ways in which China under Mao followed the example of the former Soviet Union under Stalin
- What were Deng's economic reforms and their impact on China's people, companies, and economy, as well its foreign policy
- How Tiananmen occurred, why it failed, and the impact it had on the ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP)
- What China's entry into the World Trading Organization has meant for its economy and the world
- Who China's migrant workers are and why they matter to China's future
- How unreformed legacy policies are holding back the growth of a larger Chinese middle class and China's continued economic growth
- How and why China's leaders control the growth of civil society and protests in China
- Who is Xi Jinping and how he wants to change China's place in the world

- What is China's 'Wolf Warrior Diplomacy' and how China's growing assertiveness globally is facing pushback from the U.S., Europe, and other parts of the world
- Why the U.S. and China are involved in a trade and tech wars and how they might expand to broader conflict
- The potential challenges to sustained rule by the CCP

### Readings:

William A. Joseph, *Politics in China: An Introduction, Third Edition* (Oxford University Press, 2019). (Available from the [UM bookstore](#))

Dexter Roberts, *The Myth of Chinese Capitalism: The Worker, the Factory, and the Future of the World* (St. Martin's Press, 2020). (Available from the [UM bookstore](#))

Andrew G. Walder, *China Under Mao: A Revolution Derailed* (Harvard University Press, 2017). (Assigned chapters will be on Moodle; also available from the [UM bookstore](#))

### Supplemental Readings:

A number of other media articles, commentaries, and readings will be provided via Moodle. I also recommend you follow the contemporary news about China given that we will be examining how history affects China and the world today in our class. One source to follow is the free weekly newsletter I publish "[Trade War](#)", as well as my active Twitter feed at @dtiffroberts. For more information on speeches and media that features me, as well as my latest writing, please refer to my personal website at [www.dexterroberts.com](http://www.dexterroberts.com).

### Grading:

\*class participation: one-quarter\*\*

\*midterm examination: one-quarter

\*group presentation: one-quarter

\*final take-home paper: one-quarter

\*\*Despite an enrollment far above seminar level, this class has a relatively heavy reading and discussion format. This puts a burden on all students not only do the reading but to come to class having thought about it and prepared to discuss it. In-class participation thus represents a significant part of the class grade.

### Schedule of Meetings and Topics:

## **Week 1: Introductions/expectations for the class/Setting the stage**

Monday, Aug. 30: Introductions/expectations for the class

Wednesday, Sept. 1: Setting the stage

Friday, Sept. 3: Empire to People's Republic

Readings:

\*Roberts, "Introduction," p. xix-xxxiv

\*Joseph, "From Empire to People's Republic," *The Decline of the Imperial State*, p. 47-49 (start reading near top of page with graph that begins: "Late imperial China reached its zenith..." finish all of p. 49 including box 2.2 on The Taiping Plan); *The 1911 Revolution*, p. 53-55

## **Week 2: Mao's revolution**

Monday, Sept. 6: Labor Day - no class

Wednesday, Sept. 8: Mao's Revolution

Friday, Sept. 10:

\*Watch in class first part of "Chairman Mao: The Last Emperor," 1993/BBC2

Readings:

\*Joseph, *The Rise of Mao Zedong*, p. 65-66; *Postmortem: Why the Communists Won*, p. 71-73; "Mao Zedong in Power (1949-1976)", *Mao's Rise to Power, 1935-1949*, p. 78-83

\*Joseph, *Ideology*, p. 25-26; "Ideology and China's Political Development", *What is Ideology and Why is it Important?*, p. 157-159; *Mao Zedong Thought*, p. 164-170 (through the Leninist Populism section); *Permanent Revolution*, p. 179-180

\*Walder, "From Movement to Regime", p. 15-19 (through the Explaining Communist Victory section; p. 44 (pull quote from Mao: "A Revolution is not like inviting people to dinner...")); *Class Categories and Family Origin*, p. 108-112 (will be on Moodle)

## **Week 3: Mao and the socialist economy: influence of the Soviet Union**

Monday, Sept. 13:

\*Finish watching in class "Chairman Mao: The Last Emperor," 1993/BBC2

Wednesday, Sept. 15: The influence of the Soviet Union

Friday, Sept. 17: guest lecture by professor Steve Levine on Mao and Stalin

Professor Steven Levine:

Born in New York City, lived in Italy and Czechoslovakia as a young child. Graduate from the Bronx High School of Science in New York, B.A. from Brandeis University, Ph.D. in Government and Far Eastern Languages from Harvard University. More or less fluent in Russian and Chinese, with a smattering of French, Polish, Japanese,. Taught at many universities, including Columbia, American University, Duke, UNC-Chapel Hill, University of Michigan, and, of course, University of Montana. Author, co-author, editor of books. including *Anvil of Victory: The Communist Revolution in Manchuria*, *China's Bitter Victory: The War with Japan, 1937-1945*, and *Arc of Empire: America's Wars in Asia*. He translated about ten books from Chinese and Russian, and has published scores of chapters, review essays, book reviews.

Lived in Montana 1998-2002, 2007-2017, in Ravalli County. Loved going to Missoula Osprey games, but hates the name Paddleheads. Go Griz!

Readings:

\*Walder, "The Socialist Economy", p. 82-99 (will be on Moodle)

\*Joseph, Political Economy, p. 24; Box 5.1 "The Ideological Origins of the Sino-Soviet Split," p. 177-178

\*Alexander V. Pantsov, *Mao: The Real Story* (Simon & Schuster, 2012). Chapter 24 "Visit to the Red Mecca", p. 363-373 (on Moodle)

\*Walder, "Urban Revolution", p. 61-81 (on Moodle)

\*Roberts, Bloomberg Businessweek, "Tuning up a Chinese Clunker," Jan. 16, 2000 (on Moodle)

**Week 4: Mao and rural China: unfinished reforms**

Monday, Sept. 20: Mao's revolution and land

Wednesday, Sept. 22: Land and the Chinese people

Friday, Sept. 24: Rural China, reforms, and today

Readings:

\*Walder, "Rural Revolution", p. 40-60 (will be on Moodle)

\*Joseph, "Rural China: Reform and Resistance", Villagers and Cadres: Changing Political Relationships, p. 320-324; Land Grabs and Local Resistance p. 340-341

Roberts, "The Land", p. 56 - 87

### **Week 5: Mao in Retrospect and Deng Xiaoping's Reform and Opening**

Monday, Sept. 27:

Wednesday, Sept. 29:

Friday, Oct. 1:

Watch short videos in class:

[English class in 1979 for training young journalists in China](#), just after Deng launches Reform and Opening up to the outside world. (BBC Panorama on China's Opening Up and Chinese media, 1979)

[Streets of China, Shanghai Nanjing Lu](#), Reform and Opening, 1984

Readings:

\*Walder, "The Mao Era in Retrospect", p. 315-344 (will be on Moodle)

\*Joseph, "Deng Xiaoping and His Successors", p. 124-143 (end before Xi Jinping section)

### **Week 6: Deng and the Setback of Tiananmen**

Monday, Oct. 4:

Listen to podcast in class:

[“Chinese Characters, Deng Xiaoping: Black Cat, Yellow Cat”](#) (15 min. podcast)

Wednesday, Oct. 6:

We will start watching in class "The Gate of Heavenly Peace - Part 1 - Tiananmen Square Protests [documentary film](#)

Friday, Oct. 8: guest lecture by Rose Tang, artist, activist, and journalist

Readings:

Joseph, "China's Political Economy", p. 277 – 284

*The China Reader: The Reform Era*, "Deng Xiaoping, Answers to the Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci", p. 29 - 37 (on Moodle)

Yukon Huang, *Cracking the China Conundrum: Why Conventional Economic Wisdom is Wrong*, p. 28 – 43 (on Moodle)

*The China Reader: The Reform Era*, "Wei Jingsheng, Democracy: The Fifth Modernization", p. 165 - 174 (on Moodle)

*The China Reader The Reform Era*, Orville Schell, "China's Spring", p. 186 - 196 (on Moodle)

*The China Reader The Reform Era*, Deng Xiaoping, "Taking a Clear-Cut Stand against Bourgeois Liberalization", p. 182 - 185 (on Moodle)

## **Week 7: Deng's Reforms Renewed: the Socialist Market Economy**

Monday, Oct. 11:

Wednesday, Oct. 13:

Friday, Oct. 15: Today we will have our 1st thematic presentation

Readings:

Roberts, *The Factory*, p. 1-26

Joseph, "Ideology and China's Political Development" (Deng Xiaoping Theory and The Four Cardinal Principles), p. 186 - 190



Joseph, "China's Political Economy" (The Struggle over Rural Land through China's "Going Out" Strategy), p. 284 -299

Midterm:

Midterm is a take-home, open book exam, due by 11:59 pm on Friday Oct. 22. I will have put it here on the Moodle in an attached document (PSCI 311 Rev and Ref in Modern China Midterm). I will also email it to everyone in the class. You can start working on it now.

### **Week 8: The Rise of China's Private Economy and the Backlash**

Monday, Oct. 18: Watch September 4, 2000 President Jiang Zemin [interview](#) with CBS "60 Minutes" Mike Wallace

Wednesday, Oct. 20:

Friday, Oct. 22: Today we will have our 2nd thematic presentation

Readings:

Roberts, *BusinessWeek*, "China's New Entrepreneurs", Sept. 27, 1999 (on Moodle)

Joseph, "Ideology and China's Political Development" (Jiang Zemin and the Theory of Three Represents and Hu Jintao's Scientific Outlook on Development), p. 190 - 192

The China Reader, David Shambaugh, "The United States and China: Cooperation or Confrontation", p. 470 - 479 (on Moodle)

The China Reader, William Jefferson Clinton, "China and the National Interest", p. 479 - 487 (on Moodle)

The China Reader, Anonymous, "The Ten-Thousand-Character Manifesto", p. 116 - 135 (on Moodle)

The China Reader, Antoine Kernén, "Out of Work in the State Sector", p. 348 - 356 (on Moodle)

The China Reader, Patrick Tyler, "Rural Poverty", p. 357 - 361 (on Moodle)

Roberts, *BusinessWeek*, "China's Wealth Gap", May 8, 2000 (on Moodle)

## **Week 9: Migration and *Hukou*: unfinished reforms**

Monday, Oct. 25:

Wednesday, Oct. 27: guest lecture by Mei Fong, author of "One Child: The Story of China's Most Radical Experiment"

Friday, Oct. 29: Today we will have our 3rd thematic presentation

Readings:

Joseph, "Urban China," Hurst and Sorace, p. 355 - 361 (China's Floating Population incl. Box 10.2)

The China Reader, "Strengthening Management over the Floating Population," *People's Daily Commentator* (on Moodle)

The China Reader, "200 Million Mouths Too Many: China's Surplus Rural Labor," Cheng Li (on Moodle)

Kam Wing Chang & Yanning Wei, "Two Systems in One Country: the origin, functions, and mechanisms of the rural-urban dual system in China," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* (on Moodle)

Roberts, "The Family," p. 27 - 55

## **Week 10: Xi Jinping: the China Dream**

Monday, Nov. 1:

Wednesday, Nov. 3:

Friday, Nov. 5: Today we will have our 4th thematic presentation

Readings:

Joseph, "Deng Xiaoping and his successors", Gilley, p. 143 - 150; "Ideology and China's Political Development," Joseph, p. 192 - 197; "China's Political Economy," Zweig, p. 299 - 307 (starting with Belt and Road Initiative to end of chapter)

Jude Blanchette, "Xi's Gamble: the Race to Consolidate Power and Stave Off Disaster," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2021 (will be on Moodle)

(Joseph, "China's Political Economy," Zweig, p. 290 - 291 (Corruption and Rent-Seeking - already read this, go over in class)

### **Week 11: The Party and the People: the Challenge of Civil Society**

Monday, Nov. 8:

Wednesday, Nov. 10:

Friday, Nov. 12: Today we will have our 5th thematic presentation

\*Joseph, State-Society Relations, p. 26 (civil society definition); "China's Legal System," Delisle, p. 254 - 266 (Law and Politics: Accountability and Rights to end of chapter)

\*Ya-Wen Lei, "What Should We Know about Public Opinion in China?" (from "The China Questions: Critical Insights into a Rising Power" (on Moodle)

\*Roberts, "The Party", p. 88-110

### **Week 12: The Tech Wars and China's Global Clash**

Monday, Nov. 15: guest lecture by Declan Kelleher, former Permanent Representative of Ireland to the European Union; and former Ambassador of Ireland to China

Wednesday, Nov. 17: watch video: Matthew Pottinger, Deputy National Security Advisor to the President of the United States, ["The Importance of Being Candid: On China's Relationship with the Rest of the World"](#), October 23, 2020, The Colin Cramphorn Memorial Lecture (I)

Friday, Nov. 19: Today we will have our 6th thematic presentation

Readings:

\*Roberts, "The Robots", p. 111 - 136

\*Karen Hao, Technology Review, "The Human Cost of a WeChat Ban" (on Moodle)

\*Yaqiu Wang, Foreign Policy, "WeChat Is a Trap for China's Diaspora" (on Moodle)  
Diaspora" (on Moodle)

\*Wang Jisi, "The Plot Against China? How Beijing Sees the New Washington Consensus" *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2021 (will be on Moodle)

\*Matt Pottinger, "Beijing's American Hustle: How Chinese Grand Strategy Exploits U.S. Power," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2021 (on Moodle)

(Joseph, "China's Political Economy," Zweig, p. 291 - 293 (Upgrading China's Economy - already read this, go over in class)

### **Week 13: Reform and China's economic future**

Monday, Nov. 22:

Wednesday, Nov. 24: no class - non-instructional travel day for students

Friday, Nov. 26: no class - Thanksgiving holiday

Readings:

\*Joseph, "Deng Xiaoping and his successors", Gilley, p. 149 - 150 (reread the Conclusion section)

\*Daniel Rosen, "China's Economic Reckoning: The Price of Failed Reforms," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2021 (will be on Moodle)

\*Dexter Tiff Roberts, "Xi Jinping's politics in command economy," Atlantic Council, July 29, 2021 (on Moodle)

### **Week 14: Whither China: the Final Revolution?**

Monday, Nov. 29: guest lecture by Teng Biao, human rights lawyer, visiting professor at the University of Chicago

Wednesday, Dec. 1:

Friday, Dec. 3: Today we will have our 7th thematic presentation

Readings:

\*Roberts, "Going Home", p. 137-167

\*Roberts, "The Future", p. 168-193

\*Roberts, "Epilogue": p. 194-198

### **Week 15: Catch Up and Review**

Monday, Dec. 6: Today we will have our 8th and final thematic presentation

Wednesday, Dec. 8:

Friday, Dec. 10: last day of class